1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 56b] Wukchumni

439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an under-
648 current of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´ima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humta´nan).

Wukchumni Villages

124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutsnumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). The most prominent chief about 1870-1890 was Muṭo´ñi,[140] who had
622 headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´ohet were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would
221 be about May after the Snake Ritual had been held. The chief decided when to move; he would
166 call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141]
621 It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[186 837]

[139] While N.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced matsu´ñi by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prologue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 1069] Wukchumni

586 children. In a sense, the arrangement depended on the solidity of the establishment: "it was easier for him to get out" (M.L.). On the other hand, a woman might "get mad and go home and take her babies" (M.L.). Children who were weaned, say of five years and over, went to either grandparents' home. The parents-in-law and the separating spouses discussed these arrangements. Often the children shifted about or went into the new homes of either parent when they remarried.

[585] Infidelity, especially on the woman's part, was not overlooked. Although virginity was not essential at marriage, constancy was expected 586 from a wife. The husband was entirely within 837 his rights in fighting and even killing the wife's lover. M.L. said that, if the lover had a wife, she too would "come out and fight the other woman." In other words, offended spouse [579] fought offending spouse of the same sex. When women fought they hit each other with their digging sticks or rock-lifters, pulled hair, and gouged with their long fingernails.[246]

When the husband was unfaithful, the wife "couldn't do much" (M.P.). "She might get mad and go home but it didn't do any good if her [181] husband didn't like her anyway" (M.L.). As usual in Yokuts culture, personality, not regulation, resolved each case according to circumstances.

586 Divorced men and women were entirely free to remarry, although protests might arise, and be ignored, from the parents of a wronged spouse. There was no return of espousal gifts, M.L. said, in broken betrothals (but one suspects that quarrels may have resulted if an equivalent value were not eventually returned to the losing family at some time; see the Chukchansi, Pt. II).

587 The levirate was commonly practised, but was not compulsory; the sororate was known but less common.

Widows remained single one to two years, a widower three months to one year. Again, personal desires and circumstances affected one's actions; the periods named were those conventionally recognized or expectable.

The Transvestite

838 The berdache had a special place in Yokuts society as a handler and burier of the dead and [767] singer of mourning songs. But of the Wukchumni informants interviewed only M.L. would admit their existence. She stated that a paternal uncle of hers was a transvestite. He dressed as a woman, gathered and pounded acorns, and made baskets in the company of women. The informant's grandmother told her not to make any objection to his presence on their seed-

[246] M.L. said women often "got mad over their cooking" and a winatum would come around and make them keep quiet -- these were verbal battles.

[P. 235b] Western Mono NS25

Y W 601 The husband was termed loto´pnam (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi´wan. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

● Y W 595 842 ● 837 While chiefs often had two wives simultaneously in the same home, most men did not. Sterility was the most usual reason for taking a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

W Y 602 586 When quarrels arose, the makŭi acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai'akŏina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

W Y 606 583 586 591 The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the idea, but his statement is not compatible with opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

W Y 582 [648] W Y [186] The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they didn't want the yo´'otc coming over here to stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

Y W [587] B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

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[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

834 man, physician to the Tule River Reservation, gives me the information that both males and females, though bathing quite apart, never enter the water without wearing breech-cloths at least; and this is corroborated by an old resident on King's River, who observed it of them in their native con-
837 dition. Mr. Charles Maltby, agent of the above reservation, and at one
[181] time Indian agent for the whole State, and well acquainted with aboriginal habits, also affirms that the Yokuts are purer than the northern tribes, and
[648] that the Indians throughout Southern California are less given to the infamous practice of selling the virtue of their women to white men than those of Northern California. They may not have been any better originally, but they have not been so shamefully debauched by miners. That is probably the explanation.

192 Their language has what is generally considered a good indication,
834 separate words for "woman" (*mo-kel'-la*), and wife (*mo-ki'*); also, for "man" (*no'-no*) and "husband" (*lo'-wit*).

591 We find also the singular custom noticed in some other tribes, that a man marrying goes to live at his wife's or father-in-law's house, though he still has power of life or death over her person.

847 Infanticide is practiced in case of deformity.

Many years ago the Indians dwelling on the lake at the mouth of King's
648 River were carried away captives by the Spaniards, and taken to San Luis
567 Obispo. After a long residence there, upon the breaking up of the missions, they returned to their native land; but meantime a new generation had grown up, to whom the old mission was their home. They yearned to return, and to this day they make an annual pilgrimage to San Luis, where they remain a month; and they would by preference live there all their remaining days, only their children, born on the shores of Tulare Lake, will not consent. By some this may be considered a convincing proof of their attachment to the old Jesuit padres, who used to lasso them in the name of the church; but it is not necessary to resort to this explanation at all. It is easily enough accounted for by the California Indian's proverbial love of his birthplace, just as the slave-born children of Israel lusted for the flesh-pots of that Egypt which had scourged them.

764
494 If an Indian dies on a trail far from home he is buried beside it. Every